## $S L A V E R Y$ :

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## ESSAY in VERSE.

B $\mathbf{Y}$
CAPTAIN MARJORIBANKS,
or a late independent company;
Formerly Licutenant in His Majefy's woth Reginent oj Foot.

## HUMBLY INSCRIBEDTO

PLANTERS, MERCHANTS,
And others concerred in the Management ar Sale of NEGROSLAVES.

$E D I N B U R G H:$
frinted by J. robertson, no. 39, south bridge-street. mpccxcir.

## $L E \mathcal{T} \mathcal{T} E R$,

## FOLLOWING ESSAY,

FROM THE
AUTHOR to Mr. HALIBURTON,
SRCRETARY OP THE EDENE*RGH SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING THE ABOLITIOE OF THE AFRICAX SLAVETRADE.

## Sir,

$T_{\text {he inclofed Poem (if, unembellified by }}$ fancy or fiction, a plain unvarnifhed narration of mere melancholy matter of fact can be fo called), coincides fo exactly, in many particulars, with the evidence comprifed in the Abftract lately publifhed by your Society; that, had it been the production of a ftranger, and the two, fucceflively fhewn to me, I fhould, without hefitation, have pronounced the one to be little more than a verfification of a great part of the other. I affure you, however, upon my honour, that thefe verfes were written in Jamaica, in October 1786; a period, I imagine, when no fociety of the kind was in contemplation; and when I was far from numbering any fuch inftitution among the probable events of the eighteenth century. I have not now made the addition of a fingle couplet to my original manufcript; from which alfo great part of the Notes are tranfcribed.

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It may be aiked why has this Effay been fod long concealed; or to what purpofe is it now produced? I can only anfwer, That my opinion of the Slave-Trade, and my compaffion for the fufferings of the Negroes in the Weft-Indies, of which I was for feveral years an indignant eye witnefs; have been long and invariably the fame; which in private converfation, evenㄹin Jamaica, I have ever avowed. Indifpenfible avocations, however, put it out of my power at the proper period, and in a regular way, to ftep forward as a voluntary witnefs in the caufe of truth. Nor, while I faw with exultation the brighteft talents, and moft diftinguilhed characters in the kingdom, ranged on the fide of juftice and humanity; did I prefume to think of obtruding upon the public, in any other mode, the fentiments of fo obfcure an individual as myfelf.

It was within thefe few days only; on perufing the Abftract, and comparing the great mafs of evidence with what had fallen under my own knowledge, that my confcience, though the omiffion was involuntary, in fome meafure reproached me for having neglected to contribute my humble mite towards the raifing of this mighty ftructure.

It occurred to me, that by fating to you in writing a few facts and obfervations, I might perhaps illuftrate or corroborate fome part of the evidence. The only kind of memorandum I had kept in Jamaica, either of incidents or reflections arifing from

## ( 5 )

them, confifted of a number of little poetical pieces inferted in a fort of common place-book. As Slavery was naturally the fubject of feveral of them; to this fource, on the prefent occafion, in order to refrefh my memory 1 recurred.

On a re-perufal of the compofition in queftion, fo long neglected, and almoft forgotten; ftruck with the remarkable coincidence I have mentioned, I firft conceived that thefe artlefs effufions, meant only at the time to give vent to the painful feelings of my heart, excited by the diftrefsful fcenes which furrounded me; written at the moment that the impreffion was frefh upon my mind, would not only have more weight than any thing I could now compofe upon the fubject; but might perhaps even carry with them ftronger conviction than evidence drawn forth on diftant recollection, through the force of interrogation.
Abftract reafoning, however juft, or ingenious, could probably conduce but little to promote a caufe, which hinges entirely upon fact:. This little production, whatever may be its other imperfections, is not the offspring of hypothefis, the dream of theory, but the fimple recital of what fell under the cognizance of my own fenfes; and may be confidered as an additional link in the chain of evidence. The taftes of mankind, too, are various: though undoubtedly the greater, and perhaps the more intelligent part of the world, would prefer good fenfe and plain
profe; yet there may be no inconfiderable number of others, of a more romantic turn, who could not eafily be prevailed upon to perufe a pamphlet, but would feize with avidity on any thing in the form of a poem.

Thefe ideas induce me (confcious as I am of its total deficiency in point of poetical merit) to take the libery of requefting you, Sir, to lay this Effay before your Committee; to inform them that, if they confider it capable, in any flape, of promoting the caufe they have with fo much ardour and benevolence embraced, that it is entirely at their difpofal; and to affure them, that it would give me infinite pleafure to indulge the flighteft hope, that fo feeble a performance could, in the fmalleft degree, co-operate towards the attainment of objects fo defirable to every feeling heart and unbiaffed mind.

That the generous exertions of yours, and the other Philanthropic Societies, inftituted for the fame praife-worthy purpofes, may be ultimately and fpeedily crowned with the fuccefs they fo richly merit, is the fincere wifh of,

$$
S_{I_{R},}
$$

Your, and their, Moft obedient, and very humble fervant,
J. MARJORIBANKS.

## $\begin{array}{lllllll}S & L & \mathrm{~A} & \mathrm{~V} & \mathrm{R} & \mathrm{Y}:\end{array}$

A N

## ESSAY in VERSE.

Britannia's heroes for fair Freedom fought, And gain'd, at length, the prize they nobly fought.
On our brave anceftors did Freedom fmile, And fix'd her empire in their happy ifle. There ftill the flourifles in all her charms, Each heart enlivens, and each bofom warms.

Ungrateful men! to whom fuch boons fle gave!
Who dare whole nations of mankind enflave!
From the rich ports, where fhe triumphant reigns,
Forth fly the fleets that carry freights of chains !
From peaceful counting-houfes edicts pour,
Afric's wide realms rapacioully to fcour.
By Freedom's fons o'er diftant oceans borne,
Are helplefs wretches from their country torn!
In noifome cells, where fell Diftemper glows,
A favour'd part Death frees from future wocs !
Or happy they, who in the friendly deep Fly from their tyrants to eternal fleep !

What horrid fears mult haunt th' untutor'd mind (Too juft, alas!) of torments yet behind!.
On fhocking feafts muft favage fancy brood*, Where pale Europeans prey on human food:
His bloody limbs, yet quiv'ring on the board,
Glut the keen ftomach of his ruthlefs lord !
Or on the fhrine of vengeful gods he lies; And, in atonement for a Chriftian, dies!
Yes! every flave muft yield a mafter food,
Who flowly fattens on his vital blood!
Bleft, if at once his cruel tortures ceas'd,
And gave white cannibals a fhort liv'd feaft :
Yes! Afric's fons muft fain the bloody flhrine !
But all thofe victims, Avarice, are tbine!
On Mercy's God thofe tyrants dare to call;
But A.v'rice only is their lord of all!
To him their rites inceffantly they pay;
And wafte for him the Negro's life away!
" But hear !" fay you. Philofophy will hear ;
Whoever argues, he will lend an ear.
" On their own fhore thofe wretches Slaves we found $\dagger$,
" And only mov'd them to a fairer ground.
Captives

* The general idea of the new Negroes feems to be, that they are to be devoured.
$\dagger$ This, and every other argument I have put into their mouthş, I have frequently heard the planters ufe. Futile as they are, I believe no better can be found.


## ( 9 )

"Captives in war they met this wayward fate;
"Or Birth had doom'd them to a fervile flate.
"Oft they are convicts, fentenc'd for their crimes
"To endlefs exile from their native climes.
" With plants they knew not on thofe. flerile lands,
" Here are they nourih'd by our friendly hands;
" Of our own properties we give them fhare,
"And food or raiment never cof them care.
"On them no debts, no difficulties prey,
" Not Britain's peafants half fo bleft as they!"
Hold, impious men ! the odious theme forbear !
Nor with fuch treafon wound a Briton's ear! The Britifh peafant ! healchy, bold, and free! Nor wealth, nor grandeur, half fo bleft as he! The fate of life, for bappinefs the firft ${ }^{*}$,
Dare you compare with this the mof accurs'd You found them flaves-but who that title gave ! The God of Nature never form'd a flave!
Tho' Fraud, or Force acquire a mafter's name, Nature and Juftice muft remain the fame! He who from thieves their booty, confcious, buys, May ufe an argument as found and wife:
That he conceives no guilt attends his trade, Becaufe the booty is already made.

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## ( ro )

For your own honour, name not Afric's wars ? Ye, whofe curs'd commerce rais' $d$ thofe civil jars ! Each petty chief, whofe tribes were drain'd for you, For your vile traffic roams in queft of new;
For you in guiltlefs blood imbrues his hands,
And carries havoc o'er his neighbour's lands !
They whom the feebler rage of war may fpare,
A harder fate from you and Slavery fhare!
For you-fole infligators to the werong *,
The brutal victor hurries them along.
From Afric's far interior regions driyen,
To you-and Anguifh are thofe wretches given !
Nor yet are you, for any righteous caufe,
The executioners of Afric's laws;
Th' atrocious criminals I oft have view'd, European Juftice has fo far purfu'd ;
Emblems. of Innocence they met my eyes, In foft fimplicity and young furprife $\dagger$ !

But I, alas ! may fpare my idle ftrains, Which ne'er can wreft them from European chains: For Int'reft fpeaks in language far too ftrong, Either to heed a fermon, or a fong !

[^1]
## ( II )

Yet happy $I$, and not in vain I write,
If I could render but their chains more light;
Could I but wipe one tear from Slavery's eye,
Or fave his heart one agonifing figh !
Grant then your plea:-" Neceflity demands
" The toil of foreign flaves' unwilling hands."
Yet no neceflity could e'er excufe,
The more than favage cruelty you ufe*!
"Thofe creatures are fo obftinate," you fay,
" That but from punifhment they will obey;
" No kindnefs foothes; no gratitude they know"-
Ah! little gratitude, indeed, they owe !
Ere you this virtue to their race denied, Th' effects of kindnefs might have well been tried!

Come, now, reflect what tender modes you take
To make thofe beings labour-for your fake!
Firf, then, you are fo generous and good
To give them time to rear a little food;
On the fame felfinh principle, of courfe,
You feed (far better thougb) your mule or horfe.
Small is the portion, poor the granted foil,
Till'd by the Negroe's xeftlefs Sabbath's toil!
What loud applaufe a mafter muft deferve,
Not to permit his property $\dagger$ to farve!

* While I fpeak of the cruelty practifed by planters in general, I would not be underfood to fay that there may not be exceptions.
$\dagger$ So they term them; but I deny that, in the fight of God, zoy human being can be the property of another.

But worn by toils he can no more renew,
The helplefs wretch is turn'd adrift by you*!
Ye, who deftroyed, refufing to fuftain
The few unhappy days that yet remain!
To render mifery itfelf more hard,
You term it Favour, Freedom, and Reward :
Can we your generofity deny-
Who grant your victims-liberty to die!
Soon

* I have feen feveral of thefe unfortunates expire, literally of hunger who had been picked up on the road by foldiers; but too late for their prefervation. I have known a good many others, who had been abandoned by their owners, fupported for years by the humanity of thofe poor fellows.

One old debilitated negro had refided for feveral years at Stoney-hill barracks; and I believe remained there at the time I lef: the lifand. He was the property of the Honourable (ex efficio) Paul Phipps, then Cuitos, or Chief Magiftrate of King!ton, one of the reprefentatives for that town in the Houfe of Affembly, Colonel of the regiment of Saint Andrew's Militia, and one of the judges of the Common Pleas of that parifh.

If fuch an ast of deliberate cruelty, as the abandoning this helplefs wretch, could be committed by a man who united in his own perfon the confpicuous characters of a judge, a legiftator, a militia commander, and in thefe feveral capacities, as well as ins his private profefion as a merchant, uniformly maintained an unBlemifhed reputation; who was, I believe, free from pecuniary embararffments; and who being himfelf advanced in years, might have been expected to have felt fome degree of fympathy for the infirmities of age. I think I fhould have been juftified from this fingle inftance, (even if a variety of others had not fallen under my obfervation) in inferring that this practice of turning out oid, or unferviceable flaves to pick, as they emphatically term it, muft be generally prevalent among perfons in more obfcure ftations, of lefs refpectable characters, or in more indigent circumflances.

## ( 13 )

Soon as the trembling crew are landed bere,
Their quiv'ring flefh the burning pincers fear:
Proudly imprinting your degrading brand
On men, created by your Maker's hand !
A dreadful fpecimen, we may fuppofe, This warm reception gives of future woes!

Ere the poor Savage yet can underftand
The haughty language of a foreign land;
Ere he conceive your meaning, or your view,
The whip directs him what he is to do.
No fex, no age, you ever learn'd to fpare,
But female limbs indecently lay bare;
See the poor mother lay her babe afide *, And ftoop to punifhment the muft abide !
Nor midft her pangs, her tears, her horrid cries,
Dare the fad hufband turn his pitying eyes.
Amongft your numbers, do-we never meet
Villains fo moft atrocioully complete,
Who, with curs'd accuracy, count the days,
The hours of labour pregnancy delays;
Who Nature's wond'rous work attempt to fpoil. By frripes, by terrors, and excefs of toil $\dagger$.

Agualta's

[^2]Agualta's* ftream by rains become a flood,
Once by its fide a fearful female food;
Th' attempt to crofs it was a certain death-
To tarry worfe, perhaps-her tyrant's wrath !
Some anxious hours, unwiling, did fhe ftay;
Then thro' the leff'ning torrent fought her way.
Proftrate fhe lay before her defpot's feet,
Imploring mercy fhe was not to meet !
For ah ! the ruffian's heart was hard as fteel!
No pity be had e'er been known to feel !
While the lafh tore her tir'd and tortur'd frame,
The pangs of labour prematurely came.
She clafp'd her murder'd infant to her breaft;
Stretch'd her fore limbs, and funk in endlefs reft $\dagger$ !
Yout ingenuity we muft confefs,
In finding various methods to diftrefs:
See the wretch faften'd to an emmet's neft, Whofe ftings in myriads his whole frame moleft :
Or fmear'd with cowheage all his body o'er,
His burning fkin intolerably fore!
Chains, hooks, and horns, of every fize and fhape,
Mark
meafure, be afcribed the neceflity of fo vaft an annual importation from Africa.

* Agualta, a rivulet which takes its rife in the Liguanéa mountains. It is vulgarly known by the name of Wag-water.
† This happened during my refidence bere, within little more than a mile of the fpot where I now fit : viz. on Norbrook mountain ; the property of Mr. Long, compiler of the Hiftory of Jamaica. Stoney-hill, 16th. OEtober, 1786.


## ( 15 )

Mark thofe who've once attempted an efcape.
A fifter ifle firft us'd, but this improves,
That curs'd invention call'd Barbadoes Gloves*.
For your own fakes, your malice and your whim
But rarely facrifice a Negroe's limb.
Unlefs a Slave of fedentary trade, (A lucklefs Taylor well may be afraid);
Where there's no great occafion for a pair, You may lop off the leg he has to fpare $\dagger$. Were there a furgeon-and there may be fuch $\ddagger$, Whofe heart compaffion had the power to touch; Who dar'd the horrid office to decline, Your laws condemn him in a heavy finel!.

If int'reft teaches you their limbs to fpare, Immediate § murders muft be ftill more rare.
Tho' 'tis this felfifh fentiment alone
That oft deters you to deftroy your own.
But

* Slips of wood are placed between every two fingers, and the whole ferewed or wedged clofe together, fo as to give moft exquifite torture. I have knownthis infernal machine kept on houfe flaves for many days together.
+ The reafon affigned to a gentleman of my acquaintance, by his overfeer, for cutting off the leg of one of his negroes in his abfence; was, that the fellow having run off, he thought this the moft effectual method of preventing his trying it a fecound time; adding, that as be was a taylor, the property was not a bit lefs va, luable.
$\ddagger$ I mean, even in the Weft-Indies.
|| The penalty, I think, is 5ol. currency.
§ Inmediate; in contradiftinction to the flow murder of toik and torment.


## ( 16 )

But fhould your paffions hurry you away Anotber perfon's property to llay,
The guilt's confider'd in a veniai light,
Tbe proof is difficult ; the fentence flight*.
Nay, Malice, fafe, may find a thoufand times
When no wbite evidence can prove his crimes.
Since, 'tis eftablifh'd by your partial laws,
No flave bears witnefs in a wbite man's caufe $\dagger$.
'Tis faid your equitable laws confine
The Negroe's punifhment to thirly-nine $\ddagger$.
A fpecious found!-which never gave redrefs,
Since who the dev'l can prove when you tranfgrefs.
Or curs'd pretences you can find, with eafe,
For nine and thirties num'rous as you pleafe.
A jealous miftrefs finds a ready fham
To give a handfome maid the fugar dram \|;
Clofely

* Generally payment of the price of the negro to his owner. It is then, it may be remarked, as expenfive to kill another man's flave as your own. But this does not follow; in the former cafe, the lofs is certain ; in the latter, the fact muft be proved (which is often impofible) before the damages can be incurred.
+ Not only flaves, but free negroes, and people of colour, are excluded. They are, however, admitted as evidences againft eacb atber.
$\ddagger$ As there is feldom more than one white man in the field the futility of this law is clear. (Original note, 1786.) For the fame reafon it is obvious, that the late Act of Affembly of Jamaica, in favour of flaves, mult be ineffectual. (Feb. 1792.)
\# An equal mixture of rum and falt.


## ( 17 )

With her fair hands prepares the naufeous draught, And pours the fcalding mixture down her throat ; Clofely confin'd for mad'ning nights and days, Her burning thirt no liquid drop allays. Nay, well I know a proud revengeful dame, Who gave a dofe too loathfome here to name*. It mult be own'd you all do wond'rous well, Yet ftill in torturing the fair excel.
What frange inventions has their genius found, (Impeli'd by Jealoufy) to plague and wound! And in thofe modes we fr, ould the leaft fuppofe That female delicacy would have chofe.

Bad is at beft the Slave's moft eafy fate :
Yet fome are deftin'd to a harder fate.
Villains there are, who, doubly bent on gain, Moft nicely calculate the toil and pain; Who fix the time (Oh! Heav'n! why fleeps thy wrath?) They may, with profit, work their gangs to death. " Whether fhall we," thofe precious fcoundrels fay, "Grafp Fortune quickly, or make long delay?. " A hundred flaves we have no fund to buy; " The ftrength of balf tbat number let us try, "With mod'rate toil, from practice it appears " Thefe flaves might live, perhaps, a dozen years;

C " To

* A lady of my acquaintance caufed a flave, in prefence of her family and ftrangers, to fwallow a glafs of rum mixed with human excrement.
" To us, you know, the matter will be evenf;
" If we can make as much of them in feven*."
The price of property they only weigh,
Regardlefs, elfe, what lives they take away!
In mild Britannia many of you dwell,
Where tortur'd Slavery ne'er is heard to yell.
You fly wherever Luxury invites,
And Diffipation crowns your days and nights;
The dire reflection never meets your view,
What pangs, what bloodned, buy thofe joys for you!
Your injur'd flaves, perhaps, you never faw $\dagger$;
And doubt the picture I fo truly draw.
Such would not willingly, I hope, impore
The laft extremity of humian woes.
But, if from Freedom's land you never ftray'd;
By falfe defcriptions you may be betray'd.
Self-interefted men have met your ear ;
I, without int'ref $\ddagger \ddagger$, will be more fincere !
Wretches by want expell'd from foreign climes $\|$;
Efcap'd from debts, or juftice due their crimes;
* This diabolical practice is called driving a gang. I have repeatedly heard calculations made on this fubject, with all the coolnefs and accuracy of an inakecper effimating the probable. expenditure of his polt-horfes.
+ Many proprietors of eftates in this country have never been in the illand.
$\ddagger$ At leaft, no other than the intereft of humanity.
|| The life of a book.kecper is, in general, fuch a complication of drudgery and difeafe, pride and poverty, defpotifm and fer-

The bafe, the ignorant, the ruffian fteer,
And find a defperate afylum bere.
Abject and fervile tho' themfelves they be
To thofe above them but in one degree;
O'er the fubordinate, fad, fable crew
They have as abfolute controul as you.
Men uninform'd, uncultivated, rude,
Whofe boift'rous paffions ne'er have been fubdu'd ;
Whofe tempers, never naturally mild,
Care and misfortune render fill more wild;
Their furious hearts a fhort relief procure,
To wreak on others more than they endure;
By fuch caprice are Negroes doom'd to bleed,
The Slaves of Slavery-They are low indeed !
He who has made an independence bere,
At home in fplendor hurries to appear;
London, or Bath, with lying fame refounds, " A freflı Creole!-worth Fifty Thoufand Pounds!"
vility, that no man of birth, education, fpirit, or fenfibility would, if previoufly acquainted with its nature, ever engage in it. That there are, however, among this clafs of men fome unfortunate people of the above defcription; is certain; (though, as matters are now condufted, they couid not well be poffeffed of lefs effential qualifications:) But a far greater proportion of them are low and illiterate, (for it is far from requifite that a book-keeper fhould be able to read) many of them are defperadoes, fraudulent bankrupts, jail-birds, deferters from the troops, run-away feamen, and other vagabonds of all countries and denominations. Several of them inlifted in the igth regiment, and rejoiced greatly at their change of fituation.

Tho' ten he knows the limit of his fore,
He muft keep up the figure firt he wore.
Thoughtlefs, he riots in the gay carcer;
And finds himfelf half ruin'd in the year.
Duns grow importunate-and friends but cool ;
Back to Jamaica comes the bankrupt fool.
Firft goes the Pen*; the Polink $\dagger$; worfe and worfe;
At laft the Sugar-work is put to nurfe.
He ftrives with Jews and Marfhalls long-in vain-
Once thus involv'd, he ne'er gets clear again,
Worfe ev'ry year his fituation grows,
'Till in a prifon he concludes his woes;
Unlefs, perhaps, a feat at Council-board
A fure protection fhould for life afford ;
Or in the Lower Houfe enacting laws-
The laws eluding fafter than he draws.
But while he parries off from year to $y \mathrm{zr}$,
The Negroes' fuff'rings are indeed feve; $e$ !
For their vain lord the moft fupplies to raife,
Ill fed; hard work'd; they know no refting days $\ddagger$ !

* The villa.
$\dagger$ A mountain farm for raifing provifions and fock,
$\ddagger$ Indeed, none of them do ; but the Sunday, which they ought to be allowed to work for themfelves, is generally ftyled a refting day. When the matien is hard puhed, I believe there may be found inftances of the negroas being cheated out of a great part even of this their own day.


## ( 21 )

Perhaps to greedy jobbers lent on hire*,
Who from excefs of toil their gain require;
Who have no int'reft in them to preferve;
And if they labour, care not how they ftarve.
Or feiz'd by marfhalls, and to market brought ;
By various mafters families are bought.
Amidft their unregarded fighs and tears,
The wife and hubband fall to diff'rent flares;
Their clinging offspring from their arms are tore,
And hurried from them, ne'er to meet them more!
I knew a fætus, in mere wanton play,
Sold from the mother in whofe womb it lay.
Unhappy mother! doom'd for months to bear The lucklefs burden, thou art not to rear $\dagger$ !

What

* Bad as the fitu tion of flaves is in general, it will eafly be credited that thofe on bankrupt eftates (of which God knows, there is no fcarcity) are more peculiarly wretched. But the moft fuper-eminently miferable of the human race are, undoubtedly, the negroes belonging to jobbing gangs. Should the perfon who hires them, difpofe of a negro; flould he fhoot him throught the head, or ftab him to the heart; he would, I dare fay, be obliged to pay the price of him to his owner. But it does not appear that he is liable to replace thofe who may be loft by accidental, or natural deaths-and no death, furely, is fo perfectly natural-none, I will aver, fo frequent, in jobbing gangs, as from the effects of hunger, want of accommodation, violent blows, exceffive iabour, fevere flogging, and every qther poffible fpecies of cruelty and bad treatment.
+ The bargain was ftruck in hearing of the unfortunate ma ther.

What dreadful partings; for Revenge's fake,
Do furious females in a moment make!
Theirfay'rite maids, with whom from youth they grew;
As fine their fhape; and fcarce lefs fair thair hue*;
For fome flight error; fome unlucky chance;
A tea-cup broken; or a lover's glance;
Feel all the fury of their quenchlefs flame;
And meet the punifhments of pain and fhame,
The parent's, fifter's, ev'ry tender tie-
Ail are diffolv'd-and round the ille they fly!
Accurfed fate! where Nature, and where Love,
Rude violations muft for ever prove!
You, brutal ravihhers! pretend in yain
That Afric's chidjrea feel no jealous pain.
Untaught Europeans, with illib'ral pride,
Look with contempt on all the worid befide ;
And vainly think no virtuẹ ever grew,
No paffion glow'd beneath a fable hue.
Beings you deem them of inferior kind $\dagger$;
Denied a human, or a thinking mind.
Happy for Negroes were this doctrine true!
Were feelings lof to them-or giv'n to you!
But

* The ladies are generally attended by girls of colour, who, frequently, are their own near relations; in the third or fourth generation, many of them are almoft as fair as Europeans.
+ I have often heard planters, talking of their negroes, very gravely ftyle them their Catule.


## ( iz )

But Love and Paffion ne'er had more controul, Than o'er the African's hot, haughty foul. Oft, 'mongft your flaves, a once proud chief we find, Of dauntlefs courage, and exalted mind; His body cover'd o'er with many a fcar, Proofs of his prowefs in the field of war; More keen his mental than corporeal pains, While his fierce Jpirit feels your lafh and chains. In vain the noble pride, which glory gave, You would fubdue, and " break the fubborn fave." Refolv'd to perifh by a heroe's hand, He feeks in fuicide his native land*.
Or, fhould he take a bolder, jufter courfe, And try to vindicate his rights by force; Thra' coward numbers you the hero take, And hell's own torments wait him at the flake.
There are, of gentler race and low degree, Who were not ever nominally free. But while they loiter'd on their native foil, Slight was the nature of th' exacted toil.
Taught but, perhaps, the favage chafe to roufe;
Or guard the fcanty flocks, ur goats to broufe.

[^3]
## ( 24 )

Perhaps, the only talk they ever knew,
To fow the feeds that half fpontancous grew.
No complicated agriculture there;
No modes of luxury made toil fevere.
No bloody fields their peaceful nature fought ;
But am'rous combats all they ever fought.
Thus, flaves, perhaps, in nothing but the name,
They never felt it-till Europeans came-
In happy indolence life flipp’d away,
And cafe and fun-fhine bleff'd them every day*.
But when the Chriltians came, in evil hour,
They found the rigour of a tyrant's power ;
Some dragg'd by force, and fome by fraud beguil'd $\dagger$,
The defpot reigns-rich Monarch of a Wild!
In dumb defpair thefe helplefs wretches pine,
Yet are their feelings exquiftely fine $\ddagger$ !
Think you the filent flave beholds, unmov'd,
The rape committed on his beft-belov'd?
With

* The two bleffings they feem moft to relifh.--To fleep in the fun, they confider as one of the higheft luxuries. This ftate of eafe and tranquillity appeared, from their artlefs accounts, to have bsen the original lot of moit of the Guinea negroes I have interrogated on the fubject.
$\dagger$ This alfo is from the information I have often received from African flaves.
$\ddagger$ If I have not had proofs fufficient to warrant this affertion, they have at leaft been fuch as to carry to my own mind the fulleft convision of its truth.


## ( 25 )

With keeneft pangs his am'rous heart is wrung, Rage fires his foul, tho' fear reftrains his tongue.

Oh! friendlefs race! for whom I, only, figh*; Who fcarce have ever met a pitying eye! Oh! had I power to melt, by tender ftrains, Your lawlefs lords to mollify your pains ! Could I excite one fympathetic tear, To make long-loft Humanity appear ! Could I but teach them-what they never knew, The facred rights which Nature gave to you! But had I mufic-magic in my ftrain, Mufic or magic had been giv'n in vain !

Here the rough planter looks profoundly wife; " A pretty fellow this, indeed!" he cries. " What would your conduct be, I'd gladly know, "Should Cbance on you fome bundred Jlaves beftow: " Pray would you fet the worthlefs rafcáls free? "Or would you keep them-juft the fame as zee $\dagger$ ?" How he would act, till tried, no man can fay, But may temptation ftill be kept away !

D

* Thank Heaven! this is no longe: the cafe! I have now the pleafure to fee thoufands of my fellow Britons efpoufe the caufe of this injured race of men, who appeared to me, at the time the above lines were written, to be for ever abandoned by the reft of the human fpecies.
+ I have frequently had thefe, and the like knock me down arguments dahhed into my teeth.

I ain an erring man, as well as you,
And might by Av'rice be corrupted too;
But, be my conduct whatfo'er it might,
That ne'er could alter either Wrong or Right.
Altho' no wealth fhould e'er be deftin'd mine;
Nay, were $I$ doom'd in poverty to pine,
Still with contempt I'd inwardly beheld
The greedy tribe whofe guilt had purchas'd gold;
Content that Fortune may be fill denied,
If by the pangs of Innocence fupplied!
For $m e$ be never ftruggling victim tore
From friends, from freedom, and his native fhore !
Give me no fields where fruits luxuriant wave,
Whofe culture ever curs'd a fingle flave:
To me how bitter were the fweeteft food,
Whofe feed was nourih'd by one wretch's blood !
To me no beauties e'er could grace the foil,
That ow'd its tillage to reluctant toil!
NorFlattry's voice, nor Mufic's notes I'd hear, [ear!
Still whips would wound, and fhrieks would pierce mine
And, tho' I own'd whate'er was rich or rare,
I'd dream of chains, of exile, and defpair !
Then take, ye tyrants, all that gold can grant!
Be mine the heartfelt rectitude you want*!

* This is not addreffed to planters in general (among whom there are undoubtedly many men of integrity); but the fpeculators in human blood only.


## ( 27 )

Do your fair fields with pipe or fong refound?
No! chains and feourges echo all around!
Thro' verdant meads yon limpid waters flow,
But fcarce a freeman there is feen to go !
Not gay to me yon gaudy mountain's fide,
There fickly Slavery "work'd and wept," and died!
Can I behold yon manfion with a fmile ?
Unwilling iabour rear'd the fplendid pile!
Can all Lucinda's outward charms infpire A tender feeling; or a foft defire?
When ev'ry gem the cruel creature wears,
Was bought by ftreams of blood, and floods of tears.
If (Heaven avert it!) flaves e'er work'd for me, Eafy, I tbink, their daily tafks fhould be. With lodging, raiment, and nutitious food, I'd make their lives as bappy as I cou'd. Again, perhaps another fage will fay,
"This is a traitor, who receives our pay $1-$.
" He, tho' by duty bound to guard our laws,
" Dares to efpoufe the flave's rebellious caufe!
"Should factious Negroes rife againft their lord,
" Durft l:e refufe to draw his venal fword?
"Is he not then at leaft as bad as we,
"Who helps to bind the men he wifhes free?"
The heavy charge I muft confefs too true;
-I am accomplice in the guilt with you!

But diffant be the day my weapon draws
Againft whoever fights in Freedom's caufe!
If Britain bid, obey her fervants muft;
Yet muft I figh-if Britain be unjuft :
If by our hands their harmlefs blood be fpilt,
With Britain's lawgivers remains the guilt !
Statefmen and Patriots ! does it well agree
With you-the guardians of the brave and free :
For the emolument of fordid trade,
To give fuch villanies a legal aid*?
Be not your pity to one race confin'd;
But rife the benefactors of mankind!
Let Afric's children tread their native fhore ;
And British Ruffians ravage them no more !
The galling chains of Servitude remove,
And leave them all to Liberty and Love $\dagger$ !
$\left.\begin{array}{c}\text { Stoneyhill barracks, } \\ \text { Linguanea, } 0 \text { oct. } 1786 .\end{array}\right\}$
STANZAS

* Suppofing (which yet remains to be proved) that the African Slave-Trade is actually of commercial advantage to Great Britain.
+ If the reader imagine I here recommend the romantic, and as yet impracticable, fcheme of emancipating the Negroes in the Weft-Indies; he greatly mifunderfands me. My wifhes (however obfcurely they mpay be expreffed), though when firf formed, not encouraged by the flighteft or moft diftant hopes of gratification; did then, as now, perfectly coincide with what 1 conceive to be the laudable views of the focieties fince inflituted, for the abolition of the trade to Africa for flaves; the meliorating the condition of thofe already in the illands; and, perhaps, in time; the gradual eftablifhment of their freedom.


## S T A N Z A S

 on theExecution of a NEGRO, at Spanißb-toren, Jamaica, Augu/t 1785*.
$W_{\text {hen }}$ Brutus ftruck the fatal fteel
Through the Imperial Cæfar's breaft,
The glorious deed, the patriot's zeal,
Stood thro' the fubject world confefs'd.
Nor yet has time deftroy'd the name;
Impartial ages love to praife;
In fory brightly fhines his fame,
Immortal as the poet's lays.
Yet Brutus fabb'd a gen'rous heart,
In whofe affections faft he grew;
To whom he ow'd a filial part,
It was a parent Brutus flew.
He never felt the galling chain,
The lafh that lacerates the flave;
But favours (all conferr'd in vain)
Were the fole fetters Cæfar gave!
But

* This unhappy man had run off the eftate to which he belonged. Having been fome time afterwards met by one of the book-keepers, who attempted to feize him, a flruggle enfued, in which the white man was killed.

But fee! poor Azubal in torments dies!
At which my foul in agonies recoils!
See how he writhes! Ah hear his horrid cries! Whilf with flow cruelty the furnace broils !
Say, what was Azubal's atrocious crime,
Compar'd to Brutus' celebrated deed?
(Candour regards no colour and no clime; And Freedom finiles as oft as tyrant's bleed!)

No frendly bofon did he wound;
No acts of kindnefs had he known;
Compell'd to till a foreign ground,
For ever exil'd from his own!
Still agonifing mem'ry drew
The fweets that blefs'd his Afric's hore;
The days of flumb'ring eafe he knew;
The friends he muft behold no more!
Indignant ftill recalls the day
European ruffians firt drew near;
When, vainly ftruggling, forc'd away
From all that ever could be dear !
Beneath reluctant labour faint,
Say what reward awaits his pains?
The whip's the folace of his plaint ;
And reft is granted but in chains !

Ideal lofs of Liberty infpir'd
The haughty Roman to deftoy his friend,
But keener injuries the Negro fir'd
To end a tyrant, and to kill a fiend.
Brutus ftill feems a parricide to me,
And Reafon gives reluctantly applaufe;
But to poor Azubal my praife is free,
Who boldly perih'd in a jufter caufe *.

* The name of $A z u b a l$ is fietitious; I wifh I could add alfo that the circumftances are imaginary. But thefe verfes were actually written a few days after the execution of a Negro, who was roaffed to death at a flow fire on the rece-courfe near Spanifhtown, for the crime before mentioned. Of the many ftrong arguments which have been urged in favour of the abolition of the Slave-Trade, one of the moft obvious and inceatrovertible, is furely this: That the conftant importation of favage and untamed fpirits into the illands, not only fubjects the white inhabitants to frequent alarm, danger, and fometimes death itfelf (to which they are feldom or never expofed from the Creole Negroes); but allo affords the plea of neceffity to punifhments the moft fhocking to humanity, and highly difgraceful to the colonies of a civilized nation.

THEEND.


[^0]:    * I would here be underfood to allude to the peafantry of Eng, land.

[^1]:    * I muft here remind the reader that the lines are addreffed to all concerned in the Slave-Trade; but the planters, for whofe ufe the negroes are ultimately intended, may be confidered as the original infligators of the traffic.
    $\dagger$ Of the great number of new negroes I have feen, a very confiderable proportion appeared to me to be under 14 years of age.

[^2]:    * The negro women who have young children, carry them faftened on their backs, while they are at work in the field.
    $\dagger$ To the villainous principle, that it is cheaper to purchafe Guinea negroes; than, by better ufage, and lighter labour, to ens courage population among thofe of this country, may, in a great

[^3]:    * This is more particulaly the cafe with the high fpirited, (or, as the planters call them, the fulky, contumacious) Coromantees. I never converfed with any African negro, who did not feem to confider death as a certain palfotrs to Guinea.

